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The three subjects discussed at the conference on public school segregation-desegregation were the educational problems of school segregation and desegregation, factors to be considered in planning desegregation, and preparation for desegregation. The synopsis summarizes the divergent views expressed in the panels and by speakers at the conference on these subjects. The purposes of American schools were defined as providing the opportunity and the means for each student to develop his individual potential and inducting all youth into American culture and society so that they may actively participate in the adult world. Negro children are victims of the history of their race and deserve special educational attention. Some guidelines suggested to meet the educational problems of the Negro child include: compensatory opportunity in the form of lower student-teacher ratio, additional guidance services, and better physical facilities; avoidance of social engineering (locating schools and zoning) as inconsistent with the purposes of democracy; freedom of choice or the open enrollment policy; and extensive teacher training. A cleavage of viewpoint, North and South, was apparent in the consideration of factors for planning desegregation. Southern communities often refused to consider desegregation until forced to do so by a court order. Other pertinent factors discussed were community attitudes, grade-a-year desegregation plan, avoidance of social and economic pressure on Negro parents, need for a racial school census, and increased cost. The need for preparation for desegregation was recognized as primarily a Southern problem. Plans outlined emphasized the need for active involvement of business leaders, city officials, news media, school personnel, and parents.							
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PROBLEMS OF SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Synopsis of Conference Before The UNITED STATES COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

**May 3 and 4, 1962
Washington, D.C.**

Staff Report

**Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch
Bennett O. Stalvey**

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SYNOPSIS OF CONFERENCE
before the
UNITED STATES
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

**Problems of Segregation and Desegregation
of Public Schools**



Washington, D.C.
May 3 and 4, 1962
Staff Report

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PREFACE

The Commission's fourth annual education conference brought together for a discussion of the problems of segregation in and desegregation of public schools 82 State and local school administrators, board members and other community leaders in education, teachers, professors of education and others whose interests and experience included the subject of the conference. A list of the participants, selected to give the conference wide geographic representation as well as a broad view of present educational practices, is set out in appendix 1.

There were three subjects on the agenda: "The Educational Problems of Segregation and Desegregation of Schools;" "Factors to be Considered in Planning Desegregation;" and "Preparation for Desegregation." These topics were introduced in each case by a panel of speakers, listed in appendix 2. This report summarizes the divergent views expressed at the conference on these subjects.

Office of Education-EEOP
Research and Materials Branch

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PART I

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

Numbers in parenthesis refer to pages in the transcript of the Commission's Fourth Annual Education Conference on Problems of Segregation and Desegregation of Public Schools, held in Washington, D. C., May 3 and 4, 1962.

The paper delivered at the opening session of the conference by Dr. John H. Fischer, Dean (now President) of Teachers College, Columbia University, presented most of the educational problems of racial segregation in and desegregation of public schools discussed at the conference. Therefore, the brief summary of Dean Fischer's position immediately following will provide a basis for the consideration of the views and experience of others.

The purposes of American schools are two-fold:
(a) to provide the opportunity and the means for each student to develop his individual potential fully and
(b) to induct all youth into American culture and society so that they may join the adult world as full partners. The effectiveness of schools for any child must be judged by the extent to which these purposes are fulfilled. (13)

Negro children are victims of the history of their race in this country; they carry burdens white children never know. (14) Although every racial group distributes itself over the whole social and economic scale, special problems face most Negro children. Their disadvantages stem from the cultural isolation of their people and the anti-intellectual heritage imposed upon their parents and grandparents. (15-16) These disadvantages are reflected in the children's various emotional responses to the educational process. (17)

Dr. Fischer suggested the following guidelines to meet the educational problems of the Negro child:

1. Assess the needs and potential of each student individually. Education is an individual matter. Group identification is appropriate only insofar as it helps the teacher to understand a particular student. (17)

2. Nonpreferential treatment because of race is a corollary of the right of nondiscrimination.

Racial concentrations in school classes organized according to academic ability of students should be criticized only if used to achieve a predetermined racial arrangement. (17-18)

3. Compensatory opportunity may need to be substituted for the traditional American concept of equal educational opportunity to make amends for past governmental injustice to the Negro race. (18-19)

Teaching services and facilities more extensive and more costly than those provided for physically and mentally normal children are granted to other handicapped children, notably those with mental and physical disabilities. (18)

Compensatory opportunity might take the form of (a) lower student-teacher ratios; (b) additional guidance services; (c) better physical facilities; (d) scholarships; or (e) in some cases, custodial and boarding care.

Compensatory opportunity should not be restricted to any one group but especially where handicaps are attributable to earlier governmental action, it should be taken into account. (19)

4. Social engineering should be avoided as inconsistent with the purposes and values of democracy.

Locating schools, drawing district lines, organizing curricula to achieve a predetermined racial pattern violates the principle of nondiscrimination. (19)

5. Freedom of choice, subject only to protection against overcrowding in some schools, is the desideratum of a democratic school system.

The concept of freedom of choice should allow only positive choice and never permit any group to restrict the opportunities of another. Public schools belong to all the people of the community. None is the exclusive preserve of any racial group. (19)

No one took issue with Dr. Fischer's statement of the purposes of public schools, with his view that education is an individual matter, or with his assessment of the special problems of the Negro child. Although all of the educators present appeared to agree that education is an individual matter requiring an assessment of the educational needs of each child, the premise evoked critical examination of the adequacy of teacher training to fulfill this role for minority-group children and of practices of school systems relating to the employment and assignment of teachers, both white and Negro. Considerable discussion centered on what appeared to some of the conferees to be a contradiction in Dr. Fischer's position against preferential treatment because of race and his suggestion of compensatory opportunity for those disadvantaged by past governmental action, his opposition to "social engineering" and his proposal of free choice of schools as a solution. Since non-preferential treatment and "social engineering" merged in the discussion, these subjects will be considered under four topics: social engineering, compensatory opportunity, teachers, and free choice of schools.

Social Engineering

In response to a question Dr. Fischer clarified his opposition to deliberate planning of the racial composition of schools:

I think that opportunities for integration ought to be provided through policy action and through administrative action, but I do not think that any government agency, any school

board or any school administrator, ought to establish racial quotas or ratios. This ... is another offensive idea, and in conflict in spirit as well as in letter, I think, with the Supreme Court decision. (49, see also 43)

Dr. Roy Nichols, a member of the Board of Education, Berkeley, California, asked if "we ought not to un-engineer that which has been artificially engineered" (52) in the North as well as the South. He pointed out that the American ghetto arose in the North through legally enforced covenants which restricted housing for minority populations to certain areas. Even though such covenants are no longer enforceable in the courts, he said the ghetto was engineered both by law and circumstance. Dr. Nichols suggested that the neighborhood school policy prevailing in northern cities, when applied to Negro ghettos fostered by restrictive covenants, might be regarded as compulsory segregation. If so, he suggested that school authorities might have a responsibility for the resultant segregation. (52)

The generic use of the term "social engineering" to cover any and all action by school boards to reduce racial concentrations in the schools bothered Dr. Norman Drachler, Assistant Superintendent of Detroit Public Schools. He asserted that moving children around like checkers for the purposes of desegregation was neither good education nor sound engineering. He argued that if bringing children of different races together in the same school was educationally sound, does not a school system have some duty to bring them together both for good education and because racial harmony is a democratic goal of our society. (42)

Dr. Fischer's answer was that schools should encourage the interrelation of all groups that compose the country, the school door should be open to all who want to go to that school with no limitations because of race, but no one should be pushed or pulled through the door by administrative action. He said:

I would not undertake to manipulate a public school system to provide a "mix" according to some formula that I decided was good.

I don't know what such a formula is. I don't know, for example, whether a mixture of white and Negro children--to simplify the question--is better when it is done on a 50-50 basis, a 60-40 basis, or a 90-10 basis. I don't know what a good mix is, and until I knew that I would not want deliberately to undertake to draw district lines to bring in some mixture. (43)

The fact that social engineering and other subjects discussed by Dr. Fischer are of more immediate import to solutions of northern style segregation than southern may be inferred from the remarks of Mr. William Henry Oliver, Superintendent of Nashville Public Schools, and from the fact that almost all discussion of these subjects came from representatives from Northern States. Mr. Oliver may have voiced the views of other southerners generally when he said:

It seems to me that some bit of the thinking expressed in our conference here goes considerably beyond desegregation of public schools and somewhat beyond any decision that the United States Supreme Court has made. I think that forced, artificial integration is about as distasteful and as foreign to American thinking and as much a violation of civil rights and liberties as forced segregation would be. Who am I, who is anyone else, to set up a formula and say that, according to that formula, young people should be mixed as to race, as to culture, as to wealth, as to social standing or diet or anything else? We're dealing with desegregation, and we have our hands pretty full in dealing with that, and I think it's unfortunate if we go too far beyond desegregation of public schools. (185-86)

Dr. Fischer raised the practical problem of how a "good mix" could be provided in the schools of the North where the large proportion of Negroes in the central city would necessitate the importation of white children to bring about "what most people would consider an optimum balance in the schools" (49), even if engineering were

conceded to be desirable or permissible as a matter of law. No one had an answer but "open enrollment" plans, discussed hereafter under "Free Choice of Schools," offers a partial answer, although where now used it operates in a reverse fashion.

Can Separate Schools Be Equal? This question was raised repeatedly throughout the conference. Opinions but no definitive answers were offered. Although Dr. Fischer said "it strikes me as offensive to say that a school composed of Negro children is a bad school" (48) and "we can have equality of opportunity even though some schools might be composed entirely of one race" (48), he agreed that integrated student bodies are desirable and that "they should be encouraged in every possible way" (49) short of manipulation of pupil personnel to create a predetermined racial pattern. Others who spoke on the question said or implied that segregation per se, however it arose, created an inferior educational situation and hence resulted in inequality.

Dr. Robert Havighurst, Professor of Education at the University of Chicago, expressed the view that the evidence upon which the Supreme Court based its opinion in the School Segregation Cases also applies to the Negro school not specifically created by law. (47, see also Mr. Dines, Morristown, New Jersey, 54) Professor Dan Dodson of the Department of Education, New York University, said forthrightly that "there is little, if any, evidence to indicate that a de facto segregated school can be made equal in its education program." His answer to the question "Can separate schools be equal" is in the form of another query: "If the entire culture conceives a 'Jim Crow' school as inferior, does this in fact make it so? If it does, does not the requirement that a youth attend it violate his civil rights? I believe it does." (140)

Dr. Ewald B. Nyquist, Deputy Commissioner of Education, reporting on the New York State program to equalize educational opportunity, quoted from a statement of the New York Board of Regents in January 1960 to show the State's position in the matter:

Modern psychological knowledge indicates that schools enrolling students largely of homogeneous ethnic origin may damage the personality of minority group children. Such schools decrease their motivation and thus impair the ability to learn. (67)

A subsequent report of the New York Commissioner of Education, quoted by Dr. Nyquist, identified one of the conditions limiting the attainment of the goal of equal educational opportunity as "the existence of segregated and non-integrated schools." He said further that "studies have indicated that minority-group children in such schools, especially Negro children, are educationally disadvantaged." (67)

Dr. Theron Johnson of the New York State Department of Education amplified Dr. Nyquist's position by explaining that their studies showed that a high concentration of Negroes in a school affected school performance but that the same concentration of a single religious or national origin group did not. Dr. Johnson said:

What I'm saying in essence is that the opportunities which religious and nationality groups have in this society of escaping, less visibility, and so on, has an impact on their educational achievement, so that you will find normal achievement among youngsters who are of various nationalities or religions even though that particular building may have a heavy concentration of that religion or nationality. This, however, is not true when race is involved. So, we, as educators, I think, have to take this into account. (176)

Experience in Berkeley, California, does not wholly sustain this view. There, in the order of their respective scholastic achievement as a group, Oriental students rank first, followed by white, Negro and Spanish-speaking students. (178)

Dr. Fischer viewed the lack of motivation of the Negro school child to learn as a factor arising from his heritage (which should be compensated for educationally)

rather than a result of segregation in school per se. In speaking of the problem of the lack of motivation he said:

The Horatio Alger story is a well-established part of our folklore, but few Americans would argue that the typical Alger hero would have made it had his skin been of a darker shade. The sense of frustration which any minority child may experience is heightened in the case of the Negro child, who discovers all too early that his minority has both a special history in the United States and quite unique problems. As a consequence, his attitude toward himself and toward his racial group complicates the effort to help him secure an adequate education. In some cases, he may rationalize his failures by attributing them to limitations which do not, in fact, exist for him. In others, he may develop an understandable aggressiveness which will neither compensate for external difficulties nor correct his own shortcomings. The wise and well-informed teacher is aware of these emotional complications and undertakes to deal with them in positive ways. (17)

Dr. Dodson pointed out that all-Negro schools in northern cities tend to be older, to be staffed by teachers marginal in the system, and to have lower academic standards and morale. From these facts he concludes: "The evidence is growing that segregation which is de facto is inherently inferior the same as that which is by law." (140)

The lower achievement of Negroes in segregated schools in the South was brought out by Dr. Richard M. Peters, a member of the Board of Education of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. In speaking of the efforts being made in Chapel Hill to improve the Negro schools during the transition from a dual to a single school system, he mentioned that "the valedictorian of our Negro high school was unable to pass examinations necessary to qualify for the university." (92) He quoted Chapel Hill's superintendent of schools as saying: "... there is no

equality when things are separate, and the opportunities offered in the Negro schools are certainly deficient."

(92) The actual inequity of Negro schools may be inferred from the following statement of Dr. George R. Miller, Jr., State Superintendent of Schools for Delaware:

As for what the future will be, I think we can foresee a fully desegregated condition where there are Negro pupils in all of our school districts, having a decent program of education. There are a few schools which do not now have that kind of program. (124)

The adverse effect of all-white or predominantly white schools on white pupils was stressed by Dr. Dodson and his associate Dr. Jeanne Noble, also a professor of education at New York University. Dr. Dodson said:

A good case could be made that the major thing we are teaching our [white] children in today's world is how to hide. We are hiding in lily-white suburbs, we are hiding in large-scale homogeneous redevelopment projects. We are hiding in our churches, according to many observers of the American scene....The neighborhood school has become sacred. It might be added that the nearer Negroes get to it the more sacred it becomes. The concept [of the neighborhood school] was borrowed from the idea of the community school. The community school, however, was not intended to be a "turf" which shut out life. Its strength was because of the very opposite connotation. It was that all the community's children would go to school together. (139)

In speaking of the white suburban school Dr. Noble amplified Dr. Dodson's point of the social isolation of white children from modern life. She said:

This kind of isolation from problems, this antiseptic way of life, where youngsters have only the best and are not confronted with the real problems of life, except perhaps through

a film or other audiovisual device, ... is [dynamite]. These youngsters, to me, are just as underprivileged as are the youngsters who are in inner city. So, I think what Dr. Dodson is trying to say is that we can build an attitude so that youngsters will move out and parents will think that it is good to seek encounters with youngsters who may not on first sight have the highest IQ in the world, but might have other kinds of experiences that could add to the education (183)

Site Selection and School Zone Boundaries:

Dr. Fischer's concern "about the growing pressure to locate schools, draw district [school zone] lines, ... in order to achieve a predetermined racial pattern of enrollment" (19) was not shared by representatives of northern school systems who spoke on the subject.

Mr. Frederick H. Williams, Director of Human Relations for the New York City Public School system, said:

We have as a basis for our operation the philosophy that it is educationally advantageous to pupils to have them educated in a mixed racial setting.... As a consequence of this philosophy, ... we take it into account when we are selecting school sites, when we are zoning or when we are doing any of the other features that determine where a child goes to school." (126-27)

One of the powers open to the New York State Department of Education to implement its policy of equal educational opportunity, (recognized by the Board of Regents as limited by the existence of segregated schools), Dr. Nyquist explained, was its authority to approve school building sites. He said the State "may wish to review and revise present school site selection requirements so that racial imbalance will be a factor in approval." (71)

The Citizens Advisory Committee to the Board of Education of Detroit has recommended that "whenever the board is in a situation where they can observe these three principles [distance, safety and utilization of

buildings] and draw one [school] boundary line that will separate ethnic groups, or draw another boundary line that will bring them together, the latter should be the policy of the Board of Education." (133)

Evanston, Illinois, according to its superintendent, Dr. Oscar Chute, considers the racial and religious make-up of the pupil population as well as school capacity and safety factors in determining the site and boundaries of new schools. Dr. Chute said that the school authorities had overemphasized racial and religious considerations in one instance and had to change a boundary line, as a result of parent protest, to permit some children to attend a school two blocks nearer their homes. The change, he said, increased the homogeneous character of both schools. (88)

Dr. Chute's statement that "we [Evanston] have several neighborhoods whose thoughtful citizens are anxious about the future of their immediate area and the composition of the local school population" (88) was not explained. Whether the citizens' anxiety stemmed from a trend toward a racially mixed or segregated neighborhood is not clear. He did report, however, that his board of education was giving serious consideration to the question of its possible obligation to alter school boundaries as changes occur in the racial and/or religious make-up of a neighborhood. (89) He stated his belief that "we [the school authorities] must help parents to accept an intercultural school setting for their children, not as a liability, but as a possible opportunity." (89)

In Louisville, more by accident than by design, a new school to serve the pupils of two schools, one predominantly white and the other predominantly Negro, was so located that when the old schools were closed and the enrollment combined there was no change in the percentage of white and Negro pupils in the total group. Unlike the experience in other places, there was no mass exodus of either white or Negro pupils. (189)

Busing to Relieve Overcrowded Schools: Relief of overcrowded schools by busing pupils to distant schools having unused space was not considered to be "social

engineering" by Dr. Fischer (43) nor, apparently, by anyone else. Discussion disclosed, however, that two practices exist in school systems forced to resort to this action to get children and school desks together. Some school systems bus classes, including the teacher, as self-contained units to schools having the needed space. Since overcrowding generally exists in the predominantly Negro schools located in the central core of the city, and space usually exists in outlying areas where the schools are virtually all-white, this practice creates segregated classrooms within individual school buildings. To avoid this result, other school systems transport the required number of pupils from the same or different grades and assign them to appropriate classes in the receiving school individually.

St. Louis (190) and Baltimore (191) bus classes with teachers as self-contained units. Detroit did so initially but abandoned the practice. (190) Detroit, which buses children to the nearest school without regard to its ethnic composition (133), now distributes the pupils transported throughout the receiving school. (190) The representative of the New York City school system reported that their practice is similar to Detroit's, although in distributing pupils in the receiving school, ability grouping, class organization, and similar factors are taken into account. (191) New York City buses about 50,000 children, some 47,000 of whom are transported to relieve overcrowding. (127)

There was no comment on the question of whether the practice of distributing the children transported throughout the receiving school is "social engineering."

Ability Groupings Within a School: Dr. Fischer's contention that schools should not be criticized if classes organized according to academic ability result in racial concentrations in individual classes was countered by Dr. Dodson. Dr. Dodson said:

It would help if educators knew more of the skills of group leadership so that grouping practices within the school buildings did not frustrate the policy goals even where desegregation is accomplished. Some school systems

capitalize on the disadvantage of the Negro youth because of his traumas of the past, and group on so-called ability bases, and provide a high degree of segregation. Sometimes one is led to think it is only coracial education in the same building. Homogeneous grouping is still another device to help us hide respectably in too many instances. (140)

Dr. Barbara Mason, Principal of Roosevelt Elementary School, New Rochelle, New York, a formerly all-white elementary school to which, among others, the Federal court order permits Negro pupils in the Lincoln school to transfer, strongly supported the notion that the skills of group leadership would help in preventing the frustration of desegregation policy by grouping practices within school buildings. (173)

Neither Dr. Dodson nor Dr. Mason amplified the point and no one else spoke directly on the subject.

Compensatory Opportunity

The term "compensatory opportunity," first used at the conference by Dr. Fischer, was heard many times during the two-day conference. In amplification of his suggestion that to compensate for past injustice Negro children perhaps should be offered educational services beyond standard quality. Dr. Fischer said:

Could it be that to achieve total equality of opportunity in America we may have to modify currently accepted ideas about equality of opportunity in education itself? Is it conceivable that some of our children are entitled to more and better educational opportunities than most of the others? In fact, of course, the question has already been answered. Thousands of mentally and physically handicapped children, regardless of race, regularly receive teaching service, physical facilities, and supporting services more extensive and more costly than those furnished children who are considered physically or mentally normal.

In the cases of many Negro children--and the generalization would apply also to certain other minority groups--we may need to substitute for our traditional concept of equal educational opportunity a new concept of compensatory opportunity. (18)

In response to a question, Dr. Fischer said he would not confine compensatory opportunity to racial minorities. (34) The educational needs of the economically underprivileged child, the culturally deprived child of all races should be taken into account, he said. He pointed out, however, that the rationale might be different in the case of the child whose disability is attributable, at least in part, to previous governmental action. The American Indian was cited as another minority which has suffered certain disabilities because of governmental action. (34)

Dr. Fischer was asked if he were in effect advocating a return to segregated schools. This he denied vigorously, saying:

You often find, in an elementary school, for example, children who have common needs in reading and essentially, for a part of each day, they spend their time together in a remedial reading center, but this does not mean that they then are together for math, or for social studies, or for music or for physical education. They are segregated to the extent that they need to be but they are segregated in terms of educational need, not in terms of race. (37-38)

The general assumption that the educational handicaps of the Negro child are a result of cultural deprivation was questioned by Dr. Nichols. He cited the Berkeley public school's experience with pupils from Kenya as suggesting that the low scholastic achievement of certain minorities (by which he seemed to mean American Negroes and Mexican-Americans) is a social aberration rather than a cultural differential. (178) Dr. Nichols said:

We have brought some 31 Kenya students to this country fresh out of what we commonly call the bush. These are Negroes in one sense and by one description, with tremendous motivation, who, in spite of the fact they have only recently come from what one might call a primitive culture, are able to enter our schools and function quite adequately, and many of them in a superior fashion.

We, therefore, have concluded that the low achievement on the part of certain minorities within American society ought not be treated with a polite name of subculture or a cultural differential, but as a social aberration which must be corrected by an aggressive approach on the part of educators and the total community alike. (178)

"Custodial and boarding care for children whose welfare required their removal from a crippling environment" as a form of compensatory opportunity (18) was not generally discussed. However, Dr. Horace Mann Bond of Atlanta University, noted that our Russian competitors raised the last State budget for boarding schools from one to four billion rubles. (47)

Dr. Fischer's suggestion that moral, or perhaps even legal, justification might exist for providing extra educational services for Negro children was not pursued but other conference participants described programs to raise the scholastic achievement of Negro pupils.

Improvement of the Negro School: New York State's project ABLE was described by Dr. Nyquist as "compensatory opportunity." The purpose of the program, like New York City's experimental project at Junior High School No. 43, is "to identify potentially able students amongst culturally disadvantaged groups, to provide them with enriched and extended educational activities, and to motivate them to continue their education through and beyond high school." (69-70) Matching special grants of State funds were made to 16 school districts for the 1961-62 school year under legislation adopted in 1961. In the first year of operation about 6,700 culturally deprived

students with low socioeconomic backgrounds were involved in these projects. (69)

The 16 initial projects incorporated a variety of approaches and educational services. These included smaller classes, remedial instruction, field trips and other special programs for cultural enrichment, extended pupil personnel services, flexible class and study arrangements. (69) Dr. Nyquist described the results as startling to the uninitiated.

No longer do some schools feel forgotten. Morale of teachers and pupils has jumped. Achievement and motivation have risen. A new spirit is visible, spreading to other schools in many districts. This seed money has paid more dividends than almost any project we can recall. (70)

Dr. Daniel Schreiber, former co-ordinator of the Higher Horizons program in New York City, recounted the record of the project class from Junior High School No. 43, which graduated from high school in 1961. In IQ scores, which Dr. Schreiber explained were important because of their effect on teachers' attitudes and college admission, the 81 pupils present for three annual tests showed an IQ gain on a verbal test of 13.2 points. Five times as many gains as losses were scored by this group of pupils. In 1957, 26 percent of the group scored 110 or higher. (110 is considered to be the minimum for successful college work.) In 1960, 58 percent of the same group scored 110 or more. Prior to the project 40 percent of those entering high school graduated. The project group graduating in 1961 represented 66 percent of those who entered high school. In the past, Dr. Schreiber said, only 13 percent of the high school graduates from Junior High No. 43 continued their education beyond high school. Forty-two percent of the 1961 project graduates are going on with their education. These remarkable gains show what compensatory services will do for disadvantaged children, Dr. Schreiber said. (99)

Another experiment in providing additional educational services to raise scholastic performance was mentioned by Dr. Schreiber. The experiment in the sharecropper town of Millington, Tennessee, conducted by Virginia State

College, Norfolk Branch, used a control group to measure its success. Teachers, provided with additional reading readiness material, worked not only with the children but also with their parents at a weekly workshop. At the end of a year, in terms of reading readiness, the experimental group was in the 50th percentile as compared with the 15th percentile for the control groups. Fifty percent is the national norm. In terms of IQ the median of the first grade children in the experimental group was 106, contrasted with 92 for the control groups. "This was made possible," Dr. Schreiber said, "because the school system was able to free the teacher a certain number of hours per month to work with parents." (97)

Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is endeavoring to meet the particular educational needs of both the Negro and white children still separated in school during the transition to a single school system. (84) A new Negro elementary school, built at the time of desegregation with the approval of the Negro community, makes improvement in the Negro school program possible. (85) Dr. Peters spoke hopefully of plans for a new type of vocational education program which would give opportunity for employment in the community and at the same time represent definite progress for the student. He criticized existing vocational programs, which are mostly in agriculture and distributive education, as blind alleys for Negroes. (92) Employment opportunities in the Chapel Hill area where the needs for technical help in the health field are great suggest this type of vocational education as appropriate. (103-04)

Parents of Disadvantaged Children: Education of the parents of disadvantaged children as a necessary part of compensatory effort was stressed by Dr. Bond. He cited the success in St. Louis of Dr. Sam Shephard's program to raise the scholastic achievement of Negro elementary school children by seeking the cooperation and support of their parents. (106; see also: Williamsburg Transcript, pp. 213-23)

Dr. Bond suggested that a program in which parents would study what their children study by means of tape recordings of the children's lessons would be a way to enlist parents' cooperation and involve the entire community in a continuing education program. (106-07)

The importance of involving parents as well as pupils in any attempt to raise the educational aspirations of the latter was emphasized by Mr. Williams, who said:

The Higher Horizons program is the other feature by which we try and deal with the educational problems that exist for those pupils who remain in the de facto segregated schools. The matter of raising the aspirations both of the pupils and parents, the matter of trying to develop in the pupils and the parents the belief in themselves and the belief that education is the path through which they can reach success. One of the tremendous gains that we feel we have made is the fact that we have more parents today who are enthused at the possibility of success for their youngsters through education.

Some years ago I recall that the cry was that, by and large, minority-group parents were apathetic. Well, this is not true to a great extent now in New York. They are very much interested. They are very much concerned. Sometimes they are off on the wrong track and we have a headache as a result of it. Nevertheless, we think it is better that they are this concerned, that they are this excited about education, that they are coming down to the school trying to find out what is going on, how their children are doing, what they can do to help, and so on.

I recall yesterday there was some talk about adult education, and how this can be continued or improved or extended. We find that this is a type of adult education that is taking place because of the interest that has been aroused in the programs that we are conducting in New York City. (127-28)

Employment and Assignment of Teachers

The role of the teacher in assessing and trying to fulfill the educational needs of each child, particularly

the minority-group child, was of general concern at the conference. The discussion centered around the following subjects: (a) the adequacy of teacher training to understand and deal with educational problems of the disadvantaged child; (b) the unwillingness of white teachers to accept assignments in "difficult" schools; and (c) the inferior training of some Negro teachers. The experiences related and comments made will be grouped accordingly.

Teacher Training: Universal education, Dr. Fischer told the conference, has created the need to broaden the scope of teacher training. For centuries education was intended only for a chosen few. Educators, he said, "know a great deal more about how to educate the academically apt and the educationally oriented child than ... [they] do the child who needs first to learn the value of learning." (35) Educators must find out how to deal with the learning problems of culturally underprivileged children. An understanding of these complex problems will require "a great deal of help from the anthropologists, the sociologists, the psychologists, the political scientists." (35)

Programs to give teachers and school administrators specific preparation for teaching underprivileged children were described to the conference. Dr. Herbert Schueler, Director of Teacher Education at Hunter College, which is part of the City University of New York system, outlined a program initiated there in September 1960 to prepare teachers to deal with the educational needs of the deprived child. Hunter's pilot project, now to be expanded, is helping to meet the big-city problem of staffing schools in underprivileged areas. In New York City, staffing problems are most acute at the junior high school level. Teacher turnover in these schools runs as high as 40 percent. Thirty-five or 40 vacancies, temporarily filled by unqualified teachers, may exist in a single school. Hunter decided to adopt a series of these schools as teacher training centers for its pilot project. (60)

Seventy-five percent of the children enrolled in the schools actually chosen by Hunter come from homes on relief. These schools also have the highest delinquency rate in the urban area. They are schools which have

difficulty recruiting teachers, a large number of staff vacancies, and a high teacher turnover. The school authorities agreed that student teachers assigned and specifically trained to work in these schools during their senior year would, upon completion of their training and qualification by examination, be guaranteed positions in the schools in which they were trained if they still wanted them. (61) Of the first 32 volunteers for the program, 25, by their own choice, are now teaching in the school in which they trained.

Under this program during the requisite one semester of practice teaching the student is exposed to the discipline of sociological social work as well as that traditional to pedagogy. The sociological training essentially is one of orientation to the community which the school serves. The students are acquainted with community and political leaders, the settlement houses, and the newspapers in the area. They even met with the Harlem Black Muslim leader in order to get an understanding of all influences affecting the community. (61)

Dr. Schueler reported that the Hunter staff working with the students found that the students knew much more of the favored schools of suburbia than they did of the less favored urban schools and that they had to spend many days and hours in the schools selected to become acquainted with the urban problems. These staff members are available to help the student teachers on a day-by-day basis. (61)

In each of the three semesters of its existence, the number of volunteers for the Hunter program has increased. Beginning with six the first semester, the number had increased to 19 in the third, and over 24 students were expected to elect to participate in the program in the fall of 1962. (61)

Speaking for the Department of Education, Dr. Schueler summarized the lessons they had learned from the project: (a) the idealism of young people is underestimated; (b) in-service programs for teachers are inadequate; (c) teachers in difficult schools do not have the energy to continue their training and meet the demands of full-time teaching; teachers in these schools must be helped

"before the situation takes over;" and, (d) a nucleus of well-trained, idealistic young teachers in the difficult schools, who know the children and the community, become resource people within the school to help the next semester's student teachers. (61-62)

The teaching staff of the junior high schools selected for the training program is improving, Dr. Schueler said. These beginning teachers are very efficient, much more so than the transient and older teachers they replaced. One classic example of the so-called "slum" school now has between 20 and 25 percent Hunter-trained young people on its staff. They will be used by the Hunter staff as a curriculum study resource to develop new materials and procedures for effective teaching of underprivileged youth. (62)

Plans for development of the program will stress both ways to help the teachers to develop more familiarity with the culture of the community during their first few years of service and ways to understand their own attitudes toward other cultures. (62) In the typical underprivileged urban community, teachers do not live and teach in the same community. To be effective as teachers, they must be helped to understand the community the school serves and the children who attend it so that they may establish the basis for education: communication between the student and teacher. Other disciplines within the university will be called upon to help expand the non-pedagogical aspects of the program. (62)

In Berkeley, California, University of California students are used as teacher aids. Over 125 students are working in classrooms of the atypical schools. They have been so successful that parents have requested an expansion of the program to other schools. (179) It is not clear whether or not these students are preparing to be teachers but earlier remarks by Dr. Nichols make it seem probable.

New York State's board program to distribute educational opportunities more evenly and to deal with the social and educational problems arising from racial imbalance in the schools, includes conferences and seminars for the specialists in the State Department of Education

and for local superintendents of schools throughout the State designed to give them an understanding of minority problems. Dr. Nyquist reported that school administrators were found to be surprisingly unsophisticated about intercultural relations and to lack understanding of such matters as class and caste, social change, the nature of conflict, and the aspirations of minority groups. (68) To fill this gap in their knowledge, the State Department held a one-day seminar monthly for a year for representatives of each division. School superintendents attended a two-day meeting for the same purpose. (69) Dr. Nyquist reported that these meetings had a pervasive effect throughout the State. "The change in thinking in those who determine change in local districts is noticeable." (69)

In-service training programs for staff members should include intercultural education in Dr. Chute's opinion. "We [Evanston school administrators] must help each other to recognize our own prejudices and deal with them intelligently," he said. (89)

White Teachers: The unwillingness of many white teachers to accept assignments in schools heavily populated with minority-group students makes it difficult to staff schools in the center of large cities with qualified, experienced teachers. The extent of this problem in New York City was discussed by Dr. Schueler in connection with the Hunter teacher-training program described above. In Baltimore it is much the same.

Dr. Houston Jackson, Assistant Superintendent of Baltimore Public Schools, told the conference that "white teachers in Baltimore still refuse to accept assignments in all-Negro schools and request transfers out of desegregated schools when Negro pupils approach 50 percent, or more, of the pupil population in a given school." (24) Securing replacements in the less privileged areas of the city for teachers transferred by request to higher socioeconomic areas becomes more difficult each year. New teachers often refuse assignment to schools considered difficult because of fear and feelings of inadequacy. (24) Assignment and transfer policies and teachers' attitudes are not wholly to blame, Dr. Jackson said; much of it must be attributed to housing and social patterns. (25)

The problem may be less acute in small cities, particularly those with a comparatively high salary scale. Dr. Chute reported that Evanston had no difficulty in getting teachers for predominantly Negro schools. One of Evanston's tests of candidates for teaching positions is willingness to teach Negro children or children of other than their own particular group. If a candidate shows reluctance, fear, or anxiety over such an assignment, he is not accepted. (90)

A question was raised as to whether white teachers were unwilling to accept assignments in schools enrolling deprived children because the school facilities and the other adjuncts of teaching were as deprived as the children who attended them. (50) Dr. Fischer, to whom the question was addressed, agreed that the physical facilities and available auxiliary services need improvement in many schools teachers now choose to reject. The working conditions for the individual teacher should be bettered, Dr. Fischer said, in such ways as reducing class size, scheduling time for the teacher to prepare class work, and providing classroom assistants. (50) But beyond that, the imperative is developing "much more effective ways of planning the curricula and actually carrying on the instruction of many of the children in the schools." (51) Before the pedagogy can be developed, however, basic research is required in ways of dealing with the child, all of whose experiences out of school tend to drive him counter to the thrust which the school attempts to develop. (50-51)

Teachers who decline to work in a difficult school, to teach the children who need most to learn and be educated were likened by Dr. Fischer to a social worker refusing to work with people having family problems or to a psychiatrist unwilling to treat the emotionally ill. (35) But, he concluded:

Until we can provide in teacher education the kind of background work that will enable the teacher to work in the kinds of neighborhood we are talking about with a satisfaction comparable to that enjoyed by a teacher who works

with children to whom the school has already been adjusted. Until this happens we are going to continue having difficulty

The Negro Teacher: The inadequate supply of qualified teachers has improved the employment opportunities for the Negro teachers in totally desegregated and non-segregated school systems outside of the traditional South. Where Negro teachers are not assigned to desegregated schools, the reverse may be true.

Dr. J. B. White, Dean of the College of Education, University of Florida, reported that:

The role of the Negro teacher will continue to be a problem. While some effort in a number of States has been made to integrate the Negro teacher into white faculties, there is considerable evidence that many Negro teachers, principals, and supervisors will eventually be unemployed. (31)

Dr. Jackson agreed that there might be a shift in job opportunity for Negro teachers geographically, but he said that so long as the demand for teachers continued to exceed the supply there would be no lack of jobs for Negro teachers in big cities. (40)

In Baltimore, which desegregated its schools completely in September 1954 and began assigning a few Negro teachers to formerly white schools in the same year, there has been a marked increase in the proportion of Negro teachers. In September 1954, 36 percent of Baltimore's teachers were Negro as compared with 45 percent in September 1961, a 25 percent increase. (22) (In the same period the proportion of Negro pupils increased 30 percent. In September 1954 the Negro school population was 40 percent of the total; in the school year 1960-61, it was 52 percent. Ed.) The number of Negro teachers assigned to formerly all-white schools has increased from two in September 1954 to 1,242 in the fall of 1961. About 44 percent of all Negro teachers in the Baltimore school system are employed in schools enrolling both races. (22)

Prior to 1954, to secure an appointment as a teacher in the Baltimore schools, Negro applicants not only had to pass the same qualifying examination as white teachers, but in fact they did not get appointed unless they ranked fairly high on the eligibility list. Since 1954, however, some Negro teachers who failed or barely passed the professional examinations have received temporary assignments in the elementary division because of the shortage of qualified teachers. (24) It would appear that as a result of the refusal of white teachers to teach in even predominantly Negro schools, many of the best Negro teachers request transfer from the all-Negro schools to fill the vacancies thus created. The inference was strong that this left the unqualified Negro teachers in the still all-Negro schools. Dr. Jackson commented: "To me, this is tragic, because the practice is depriving many Negro pupils who remain in all-Negro schools in the central core of the city of the services of qualified, experienced teachers, and these are the pupils ... who need good teachers the most." (25)

Baltimore employs about 1,100 special substitutes on a temporary assignment basis. (36) This number is approximately 17 percent of the total number of teachers employed. (22) Some of these special substitutes have been teaching in the Baltimore schools on this basis for five or six years. (36) There are, of course, white teachers as well as Negroes included in the category of special substitutes. (63)

Most of the Negro elementary school teachers employed by Baltimore are graduates of a formerly segregated and still almost all-Negro State teachers college in the city. Since desegregation of white colleges, this college no longer attracts the students who can qualify for the white college. (36) The Negro college's students in turn come for the most part, from all-Negro or predominantly Negro high schools. (36) Commissioner Hesburgh asked Dr. Jackson how the vicious circle, whereby students from inferior schools go to inferior colleges and go back to teach in the same inferior schools, can be broken. Dr. Jackson saw no solution to the problem so long as the teacher shortage continues to exist. (37)

"The fate of previously all-Negro colleges is of concern in some areas in the South," Dr. White told the conference. He cited as examples Bluefield State College in West Virginia and Kentucky State College at Frankfort as two public, formerly Negro colleges presently concerned with their future role. (31)

Mr. Oliver said that Nashville has no unqualified Negro teachers and that nearly all of them are graduates of Negro colleges. He reported also that Nashville has far more well-qualified Negro applicants than it can use. (64) This seems to correspond with Baltimore's experience pre-1954. Nashville has not assigned any Negro teachers to formerly white, now desegregated schools. (117)

Free Choice of Schools

Free choice of schools, subject only to sensible protection against unnecessary overcrowding, is an essential part of Dr. Fischer's formula for achieving a democratic and constitutional organization of a public school system. His strong opposition to social engineering must be viewed in conjunction with his equally strong advocacy of a maximum freedom of choice of schools for all children. (19) Baltimore was used by Dr. Fischer as an example of maximum free choice. In Baltimore any child is free, regardless of where he lives, to attend any school in the entire city excepting only those schools so badly crowded that they are temporarily closed to pupils not living nearby. (52-53) As a result of Baltimore's free choice policy over 51,000 Negro pupils attend biracial schools, whereas under a school zoning policy it is estimated that as a result of housing patterns less than 20,000 would do so. (53)

Free choice, Dr. Fischer explained, means just what those words imply. Schools, however, should encourage children to make the choices which are most likely to be good for them. Guidance counselors provided in every school should advise parents not only as to curricular and vocational choices but as to the particular school in the community best suited to their needs at the time. Rather than having school administrators play God, Dr. Fischer said the Nation should:

Provide the richest possible opportunities in all our schools, and I know this will still take some doing; but, working toward that, I would then want to provide full opportunity for choice, and I would want to help people to make the choices which are most likely to be useful for them, but leave the choice to them. (50)

It was pointed out that finances limit free choice in a large city if transportation is not provided by the school system. Dr. Fischer's reply was that choice in many aspects of life is limited by economics but that whether choice should be subsidized is a separate question. If transportation at public expense is desired to maximize free choice, taxpayers must be willing to pay for it, Dr. Fischer argued. (56)

Choice of the Negro School: A participant from New Rochelle pointed out that in that city 200 children whose parents had the option under the Federal court order of requesting transfer to another school elected to keep them in the neighborhood Negro school; that free choice must be considered as a two-way street. (58)

The free transfer privilege allowed in Louisville at the elementary level is not widely used; but, of the requests for transfers received, 60 percent are from Negro students living in the zone of a desegregated school asking to go back to the Negro school in order to be with their friends. (119) In Louisville, it was said that the phenomenon known as "resegregation" (biracial to all-Negro) results from changing housing patterns rather than the exercise of the transfer privilege. (187)

Open Enrollment Plans: Open enrollment plans might be described as limited free choice. In general, they permit a pupil transfer from the school to which he was assigned by residence to an underutilized school. Most plans for such transfers out of the school of the residential zone do not relate the privilege to the racial composition of the enrollment in either the sending or the receiving school. The New York City plan, specifically designed to produce a more heterogeneous racial composition in the schools, is an exception.

The Detroit plan seems to be typical. A capacity study is made of all schools and those underutilized are declared to be "open." A parent living in any part of the city may request the transfer of his child to any open school. Thus the privilege is not tied to race. In the 1961-62 school year, some 20 to 25 schools in Detroit were declared to be open enrollment schools. (133-34) Participation in this program, as in all other open enrollment plans, is entirely voluntary. (183)

Philadelphia has an "open school policy allowing free transfer," the details of which were not described. A survey there in the 1961-62 school year showed some 15,000 students enrolled in schools outside of their residential zones. Of the 15,000, about 5,000 were whites and 10,000 were Negroes. (188)

The superintendents of schools from Boston (175) and Milwaukee (188) claimed that a free transfer policy had been in effect in their school systems for approximately 300 and 100 years, respectively.

The New York City plan was described by Mr. Williams. The plan calls for the designation of two types of schools: sending schools and receiving schools. Sending schools are all those within the system having a Negro and/or Puerto Rican enrollment of 90 percent or more. Receiving schools are those 90 percent or less utilized and having a school population which is 25 percent or less Negro and/or Puerto Rican. (128) The opportunity to transfer is further limited to pupils entering the third, fourth, or fifth grades of the elementary schools or the seventh grade of junior high school. (128)

The philosophy that it is educationally advantageous to pupils to be educated in a mixed racial setting is the basis for this, as for other New York City programs. Giving the parent the option of choosing a mixed instead of highly segregated school is considered by this school system as sound education, not manipulation. (126-27)

In the school year 1961-62 parents of slightly more than 3,000 minority-group children elected to transfer them to a predominantly white school under the New York City plan. The city provides free bus transportation

for these children as it does for some 47,000 others transported to out-of-zone schools to relieve overcrowding. (127) New York City does not limit the right to transfer to Negro and Puerto Rican pupils in the sending schools. In practice a few white students, about three percent of transferees, have exercised the option. (190)

All school systems reporting the use of an open enrollment plan in their school systems said the right to transfer was limited to the capacity of the receiving school with priority given on a first-come first-served basis. (189)

SUMMARY

The discussion of educational problems related almost exclusively to those questions as viewed by northern educators in large urban areas beset by northern style segregation and all that goes with it. Many northerners present chose to remain silent as the above report shows by omission. Queries as to what a school administrator showing interest in solving segregation problems should say when accused of Communist leanings reminded everyone that democracy is a rocky road.

There was little agreement among the conference participants as to whether race should enter into any administrative decision concerning the organization of schools. Those who saw the segregated school of the North just as inferior as segregation created by law also argued that a school system had a duty to make it possible for children of different races to attend school together for educational and democratic reasons, other considerations being equal.

The special educational needs of Negro children, particularly those of low socioeconomic backgrounds, evoked considerable discussion. Participants described programs in effect to raise scholastic achievement among Negro pupils and to motivate their continuance in school.

The adequacy of teacher-training to prepare teachers to understand and deal with the educational needs of the minority-group child was of general concern, as were the

staffing problems of the schools in which they are enrolled in large numbers. The inferior training of some Negro teachers was stressed by some participants but others did not find this a problem.

The efforts being made to breakdown northern style segregation Dr. Havighurst likened to those of "a man swimming upstream at the rate of 2 miles an hour while the current is carrying him back at the rate of 5 miles an hour." (186) Dr. Havighurst stated that two factors have been at work in the large urban areas of the Nation since 1940 to make this true: economic stratification and racial segregation. The flight of the white middle class to the outer edges of the city has led to a growing concentration of both white and Negro lower classes in the center city. Simultaneously "the proportion of Negro youngsters who are in effectively segregated schools has increased." The efforts described at the conference "are rather small in comparison with the effect of the trend in the metropolitan areas of this country toward racial and economic segregation." (186) Dr. Havighurst said:

That leads me to the position that the schools must, in my judgment, if we are to do anything about either racial or economic segregation in the northern cities, take part along with other agencies in the task of urban renewal. At the present time physical urban renewal has aided the process of segregation. We know that. Somehow there has to be a program of social urban renewal in which we move back to a more mixed-class type of local communities within the cities, and to a considerable extent now, those school systems with rigid attendance requirements, rigid rights, assist--they favor--the process of segregation. Therefore ... [those] interested in the problem of segregation and desegregation of northern city schools ... [have] to pay some attention to overall social urban renewal and might have to call the attention of the school systems and of school boards to the fact that they are involved willy-nilly in this process of growing segregation. (186-87)

PART II

FACTORS TO BE CONSIDERED IN PLANNING DESEGREGATION

A cleavage of viewpoint, North and South, was apparent in the consideration of this subject. The primary factor in the South as a whole appeared to be: Is there a court order saying we must? What does it require us to do? On the choice of a particular plan, southern educators were as one in suggesting that the welfare of pupils, both white and Negro, should be the controlling criterion, although their answers differed as to how the children's interest is best served. Much of the northern viewpoint has been covered in the preceding section on educational problems and will not be repeated here. New York State's position that equality of opportunity is the moral imperative of our time and that school systems must recognize "the rising personal aspirations of [previously deprived] individuals to be better than they are and to fulfill themselves as human beings ... through education" (65) was in great contrast to the reports from the South and may well be even more advanced than the position of most school administrators in the North and West.

Pertinent Factors in the South

Community Attitudes: The Supreme Court decision in 1954 was a setback in many biracial movements which were developing in the South with increased momentum at that time, Dr. White told the conference. (27) He cited the case of Florida where a biracial group for the study of elementary education was organized by the State Department of Education in 1951. After the Supreme Court decision in 1954, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, ordered the group to separate according to race. "Only now," Dr. White said, "does the tension seem relaxed sufficiently to suggest that the Council begin to function once more as a biracial group." (27) In South Carolina also, State-wide, biracial meetings of professional educators were held as early as 1945.

"This probably could not happen now in that State," Dr. White commented. (41)

Although he acknowledged that the desegregation process had been very slow and much of it came only from pressure, Dr. White insisted that speed should not be emphasized at the moment, pressure should be applied sparingly with insight and wisdom, and recognition should be given to the fact that social change takes place slowly. (41) "Obviously, there must be some pressure from the courts and from public opinion to insist that progress be made. But too strong pressure or too great insistence on speed can retard progress rather than promote it." (32)

Need for Court Orders: In spite of a general recognition today that desegregation is inevitable, most southern school boards choose to wait until forced to act by a court order, thus avoiding responsibility for the action, Dr. White said. (28) Mr. Theodore H. Shepard, President of the Orleans Parish Board of Education (125), Dr. John W. Letson, Superintendent of Public Schools, Atlanta (149), and Dr. Benjamin Carmichael of Chattanooga City Schools (182), concurred and expressed the view that in their communities a court order was essential to start the desegregation process.

Importance of Initial Success: Chattanooga, Tennessee, which desegregated the first three grades in 16 elementary schools in September 1962, had the benefit of earlier experience of other southern cities in making its plans. Dr. Carmichael, the Chattanooga superintendent, told the conference that its plan was conceived with a view toward avoiding violence, class conflict and the fallacy of generalizing from one desegregated accomplishment to another. Other factors deemed important were the utilization of the lowest grade-level approach, support of the moderates, a name encompassing all citizens within the plan, and the influence of a limited nonviolent experience on subsequent steps. (159-60) The original plan submitted to the Federal court was modified somewhat before approval but as approved preserved its unique feature of selecting a group of schools, nine white and seven Negro, to be desegregated by geographic redistricting for the first three grades the first year of the plan's operation. The basis for selecting the schools

other than the considerations given above was not stated. Dr. Carmichael explained that the school board's original proposal went no further than the first step on the theory that it was impossible to predetermine the next steps in advance; that subsequent steps should be governed by administrative reasons existing at the time the step was to be taken. The court, however, insisted on a complete desegregation plan. Dr. Carmichael said he was unable to defend a grade-a-year timetable in advance. He suggested to the court, however, that in all probability there would be more problems in the first year of desegregating a school organization, i.e., the first grade of junior and senior high schools. The plan as approved by the court seemed to adopt this reasoning. It allowed one year to desegregate the first grade of the junior and senior high schools and required that thereafter the next two grades be desegregated each year. The first step, the one originally proposed to the court, which included the first three grades of elementary school, was not changed. (169-70) Thus, the more familiar grade-a-year plan was telescoped into a seven-year period.

Up or Down: The representatives from Nashville and Chattanooga spoke in favor of a gradual desegregation plan beginning at the lowest grade but those from Atlanta and Little Rock supported commencing desegregation in the top grade and working down. Dr. Daniel Thompson, Chairman of the Social Science Division at Dillard University, inquired with respect to the criterion being used: "Is it better for the Negro children? Is it better for the white children? Is it better for Negro parents? Is it better for the white masses?" (121)

Mr. Oliver replied that Nashville's choice was determined by the welfare of the students who would be in desegregated schools. He said that when they chose the first grade as the beginning point they recognized that very few Negro students would transfer to white schools if desegregation began at the 12th grade. However, it was decided that "a student going into the white school in the first grade would have a lot better chance of making adjustments socially and educationally than if he transferred in the 12th grade." (121) The experience of Nashville, which had then desegregated the first five grades, confirms the choice of beginning at the lowest grade and moving up.

Our experience convinces us that both socially and educationally, the nearer the beginning he [the Negro child] gets into this situation the better it is. He does better work. He gets along more happily. In every way he is more successful, ... if he starts in the first grade. (115)

Mr. Everett Tucker, Jr., President of the Little Rock Board of Education, suggested that the time when desegregation was commenced might be a factor of choice. "From the point of view of hindsight, looking back to 1957, I can see some advantages that Dr. Blossom had in working out the plan to begin at the 12th grade." However, "I believe that if we were going to begin in 1962 to desegregate initially perhaps beginning at the first grade level would be preferred." (118) Although he and the incumbent board were not members of the school board in 1955 when the original plan was worked out, Mr. Tucker ventured the opinion that the overriding consideration of the school authorities at that time was to minimize the initial steps of desegregation. (122)

One definite advantage of starting at the upper level and moving down was explained by Dr. Letson, Atlanta's superintendent. At the upper high school level it is possible to prepare students effectively. "... I think it is a decided advantage if you are making a beginning ... with those who can reasonably consider, reasonably discuss and come to personal, individual decisions about their own actions," Dr. Letson said. (122)

Use of Tests: The use of intelligence tests by the Atlanta school system as one of the factors determining the granting of a Negro's application to transfer to a white school was strongly criticized by Dr. Bond of Atlanta University. Dr. Bond reported:

[I]f you study the [Atlanta] high school scores, by interpolation you can find that if the same standards that applied to the Negroes in entering the white high schools last year had been applied to the students in those white high schools, in the best white high school, which obviously is an upper class high school,

22 percent would have flunked the English test, 42 percent the social studies test and 40 percent the mathematics test. (77)

Ability to carry the academic load was one of three factors given greatest emphasis in Atlanta last year, Dr. Letson explained. The other two were the place of the student's residence in relation to the school and the educational purpose in requesting transfer. (167) Stress was laid upon academic ability because:

It was recognized on the part of certain of the professional staff in the school system that this beginning was going to subject a rather terrific emotional pressure upon the students involved, and it was our very definite belief that educationally and in terms of a proper concern for the welfare of the individuals involved it would certainly be unfair at this initiation of a plan to subject these students also to an extreme difficulty in terms of an academic load. So, the last criterion was based upon the average attainment of the class to which the pupil was requesting admission. (167)

Although applicants for transfer were given special tests last year, this year tests which are a part of the pupil's permanent record will be used. (168)

Nashville uses no testing of any kind. Mr. Oliver explained:

If a child lives in the zone in which a certain school is located that is his school. He doesn't have to take any tests or get any special permission to attend it. That is where he belongs. Now, if he doesn't want to go to that school he has to make an application for a transfer to a school outside of that zone. (115)

Even at this point no tests are applied. Requests for transfer may be made at any time, but most occur at the beginning of the school year. White students do not have a right to transfer out of the school of their residential

zone because a minority of Negro pupils has entered the school. No such requests have ever been granted in Nashville. (117)

Speedup of Grade-a-year: Southern educators operating under a court-approved grade-a-year plan were asked repeatedly if it were not possible to speedup the desegregation process in some way. (116, 122-23, 166, 170)

Mr. Oliver of Nashville believed the 12-year plan although slow is "one that is getting the job done for us better than we could do it any other way." (116) He also said "that the reasons which justified our asking the courts in the first place to approve this gradual plan justify our continuing that plan all the way through." (123)

Atlanta, Dr. Letson said, had already announced its intention of liberalizing the operation of its plan for the next school year (i.e., no special tests). However, positive predictions of when full implementation might be accomplished are extremely difficult now. Moving too fast in Atlanta could undo accomplishments thus far. (167)

Dr. Carmichael expressed the view that although a court order may not restrict the acceleration of the approved plan, once it is recorded and adopted acceleration would be difficult. (185) Dr. Letson agreed with this view but thought there might be ways of liberalizing or speeding up within the framework of the approved plan. (185)

Utilization of Space: The question of whether the cost of operating separate school systems should be considered a factor in planning desegregation was raised by Dr. Bond. He reported that in Atlanta, Negro schools are overcrowded and that many white schools are only half full and have empty rooms. If the space in the existing white schools were used for Negro students, a building program costing several million dollars would be unnecessary, Dr. Bond said. Instead of needing some 200 new rooms to house Negro pupils, if existing space were used only 17 new rooms would be required. Thus, he said, the Atlanta school board is faced with a choice of floating an expensive bond issue or of "integrating a little more." (100)

No one else spoke directly on this subject. (For the solution in some northern communities: see Part I, Social Engineering, Busing.)

Increased Cost: A question was raised as to whether or not desegregation of schools in the South had increased the per capita operating expense of school systems. (124) It was pointed out that

Prior to 1954 most statistics indicated that Southern schools generally were spending less per capita than most Northern schools and that the Negro students in separate schools were getting less than the white students per capita Is there any problem of additional financing that will go along with extensive desegregation? (124)

Dr. Letson explained that the lower per capita operating cost of Negro schools in southern communities does not arise from any difference in the basis upon which funds are distributed but on other factors. He cited inadequate school building facilities that result in a higher pupil-teacher ratio in Negro schools as an example. (126) This would seem to mean that Negro schools are more crowded than white schools and consequently they have a higher pupil-teacher ratio in individual classes. Since a large part of school operating expense is teachers' salaries, schools with a relatively high pupil-teacher ratio would have a lower per capita cost.

Mr. Oliver reported that Nashville has not experienced any increase in operating costs as a result of desegregation. (124)

Avoiding Social and Economic Pressures on Negro Parents: In the 1961 school board election campaign in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, the three successful candidates took the position that the existing desegregation procedures, which required an application for transfer by Negro parents, placed an undue burden on the Negro by forcing him to apply for his rights. "It the requirement of individual application for transfer/ permitted economic and social pressure against any change in previous practices," Dr. Peters explained. (83) Immediately

after the election, the board adopted a policy of desegregation by geographic assignment (rezoning of school attendance areas without regard to race), to be effective at the first grade level in 1961-62 and a grade a year thereafter. (81-83) Board policy permits any child zoned into a school where his race is in the minority to request transfer to another school where his race predominates. Coupled with the grade-a-year geographic assignment plan, Chapel Hill continued its policy of individual assignment and reassignment upon application for all grades above grade one. (81) "With the two plans of geographic assignment, progressing a year at a time, and individual reassignment action, relief can be obtained for all and the end of the problem can be foreseen," Dr. Peters said. (84)

In fact several applications for reassignment at higher levels were granted by the board for the school year 1961-62 and two children of new Negro graduate students living in university housing were assigned without application to the white school attended by all other children living in the housing development. (84)

The school rezoning first proposed to the Chapel Hill board by the school superintendent would have placed the major burden of desegregation on the Carrboro School. (83) Carrboro, which is part of the Chapel Hill school district, was described by Dr. Peters as a typical southern industrial town, whereas the town of Chapel Hill itself is made up principally of university faculty and upper middle class industrial scientists and business people. The Negro community, composed largely of service personnel and household help of a low economic group, is concentrated between Chapel Hill and Carrboro, part in each city. (81) The school zoning plan submitted to the board by the superintendent, which would have put most of the Negro children in Carrboro instead of distributing them throughout the white schools, was unacceptable to the board. The board believed that it would be better for both the white schools and the Negro children if the Negro children were placed in schools where they would be more favorably received rather than in a school where they would not be. After rezoning to relieve the concentration in Carrboro, the largest white school which originally would have had only two Negro children, had 28. (83) All formerly white schools received some Negro children. (84)

Dr. Peters summed up the result of the new policy at Chapel Hill by saying:

The Negro child who wants and needs the educational environment of the white schools knows the door is not closed -- and "white" at this point is in quotes. The white community, on the other hand, realizes this bogus threat of desegregation is actually a straw man and they are prepared to grapple with other issues. (86)

Treatment of Negroes in White Schools: In the preceding section, the factor of the anticipated reception of the Negro student in the various white schools of the Chapel Hill school district was discussed in connection with policy in the rezoning of school attendance areas. The only other mention at the conference of the treatment of Negro students by their fellow students in desegregated schools concerned the treatment of the nine Negro pupils who entered four formerly white high schools in Atlanta in September 1961. In response to a question, Dr. Letson said:

The four schools varied somewhat in terms of living up to a little more than the letter of the law. In general, these students were well received in the schools. In general, it has been a remarkable accomplishment. They have made good records. In some instances their parents have been affiliated with the parent-teachers association. Quite recently two of the students in one of the high schools attended the banquet for honor students. There have been many occasions when it was apparent that these students were well received in their schools. There have been a few incidents on the other side of the ledger -- minor ones, I would say -- and, in general, the sum total would be considerably on the plus side. (172)

THE NORTHERN VIEWPOINT

The northern educators who spoke at the conference on various ways to alleviate racial concentrations in

schools, to relieve overcrowding of schools in the central city that are attended primarily by minority-group children, and to compensate for cultural and social deprivation of minority-group children through special school programs, all seemed concerned basically with providing more uniformly equal educational opportunity for all children in their public schools. Since the moving factor seemed to be "education," the viewpoints expressed on these subjects are included in Part I.

Need for Racial Census of Schools: To carry on a desegregation process, authorities must have data showing the racial composition of all schools and classrooms, Dr. Nyquist said. As one part of its attack on segregation in the schools, New York State conducted a racial census in the 880-plus school districts in the State. Only grades one through six and special classes at the elementary level were canvassed, since racial imbalance involves elementary schools primarily. These classes are housed in 2,700 buildings. (70-71)

Teachers were instructed not to ask any pupil or parent his race or ancestry, but to count each child as white, Negro, Puerto Rican or other by observation. No individual records were to be made and class totals only reported. The census showed 67 percent of all school districts to be at least biracial, 58 percent exclusive of New York City. In the biracial districts outside of New York City only five percent of the elementary school population is Negro but this small minority is concentrated in 46 percent of the school buildings. (71)

The analysis of the census had not been completed at the time of the conference but Dr. Nyquist predicted that in about 4 percent of the buildings and 5 percent of the school districts would the racial composition of schools and classroom be found to be a matter of deep concern. Dr. Nyquist did not say what Negro-white ratio would be deemed to be too high.

The representative of the California State Department of Education, Mr. Wilson Riles, raised the question of whether or not the policy of not recording the race, religion, and national origin of individual pupils, adopted in the interests of nondiscrimination some years ago,

should be reversed in the interest of providing the statistical data needed. (107) Both Dr. Chute of Evanston and Dr. Nyquist agreed that individual records might be prejudicial and should not be kept. When needed, such information should be obtained by a headcount that does not identify individual students. (107-108)

Reorganization of Schools: The general questions and discussion relating to the inequality of predominantly Negro schools and the consequent need to reduce racial concentrations in the schools or otherwise improve the education of children enrolled therein are included in Part I, above. Particular methods used in some communities were not discussed there except as they entered into educational problems presented by Dr. Fischer.

A desegregation plan whereby the grades offered at various schools are changed to reduce racial concentration in one or more schools was mentioned by both Dr. Carl Robinson, acting superintendent of schools, Highland Park, Michigan, and Dr. Noble. Dr. Noble reported that Dr. Dan Dodson had recommended this plan to the school authorities in a recent study of a New Jersey school system as a method of reducing the racial concentration in a single school. Instead of having the school serve elementary pupils of all grades living in the immediate neighborhood of the school, he proposed that one school serve pupils of a single grade living in a larger geographic area. (173) This method would bring all pupils, white and Negro, living in the area formerly served by several schools into a single school serving one grade only.

Highland Park, Michigan, adopted a similar plan to settle a suit filed in the Federal court to force the desegregation of a virtually all-Negro elementary school. The school involved covered grades kindergarten through six. Under the compromise reached in settlement of the litigation, the school was converted to a k-3 organization and its attendance area was enlarged. The older children, grades 4 through 6, formerly assigned to the segregated school were transferred to a nearby school which had been integrated for many years. (129-30)

SUMMARY

Spokesmen for the South emphasized that community attitudes continue to make a court order essential to the initiation of desegregation. Plans should be designed to assure initial success, such success being more important than speed.

Some educators favor a grade-a-year plan beginning at the first grade and moving up, and others a plan beginning in the upper grades and moving down. The grade-a-year timetable for desegregation is used both by school systems using the geographic method of pupil assignment and those using individual pupil placement criteria to assign pupils to particular schools. Chapel Hill adopted a geographic assignment plan in September 1961 in fairness to their Negro citizens who might hesitate to apply for the individual transfer of their children to white or desegregated schools because of social and economic pressure. Although the geographic assignment plan in Chapel Hill is effective one grade a year, the board will continue the policy of receiving individual applications for reassignment. Consequently, pupils in higher grades are not precluded from seeking the opportunity to attend non-segregated schools, as they are in the usual grade-a-year plan, beginning at grade one.

Questions raised as to the use of IQ tests in pupil placement, the possibility of a speedup of grade-a-year plans, and the need to utilize empty classrooms in white schools, for the most part, were not answered. The Atlanta superintendent defended the use of its test of ability to carry the academic load as a proper concern for the welfare of the individuals involved who, in the first year of desegregation, would be subject to terrific emotional pressure.

The higher per pupil cost of white schools in the South, the conference was told, results from such factors as a higher pupil-teacher ration in the Negro schools rather than a differential in the method of distributing funds.

Two participants expressed the view that information concerning the race, religion and national origin of

pupils enrolled in individual schools should be secured by a census; that recording such information on the individual pupil's record cards should be avoided. The composition of the school population must be known to eliminate any existing racial and ethnic imbalance, it was said.

The only desegregation plan reported by participants from northern school districts (other than site selection, revision of school attendance zones, free choice, and open enrollment, discussed in Part I) is the so-called "Princeton plan." The Princeton plan simultaneously changes the grades offered at one or more schools and enlarges the attendance zone of the school or schools to include a more heterogeneous school population.

PART III

PREPARATION FOR DESEGREGATION

The panel introducing this subject to the conference was composed of three southerners and one northerner. The silence of other northerners present during the question period and the discussion which followed the panel presentations made it appear that the North generally views preparation for peaceful acceptance of desegregation as a southern problem. It may be, however, that the silence of representatives of northern and western school systems on this subject reflects a basic regional difference. In the South the need to reckon with the reactions of the total population, if peaceful acceptance of court-ordered desegregation of schools is to be assured, has been demonstrated in New Orleans. In the North, except for New Rochelle, changes in school organizations to lessen segregation in the schools have resulted from community or political pressure, not court orders. Thus, in the North, when a policy is adopted, the general population has already been actively involved in formulating and pressing the issue. This, of course, is not true when the policy is determined by litigation.

Dr. Dan Dodson, Director of the Center of Human Relations and Community Studies, New York University, told the conference that ordinarily there is very little preparation for desegregation until a community is confronted with the issue. The confrontation comes at the time of a court decision or when community or political pressure has forced a decision by other authorities. Professional educators, he said, rarely determine the policy of who goes to school with whom. The decision is made by power groups within the community, whether lawyers, judges, politicians or other non-school community leaders. (138)

The comments of Dr. Letson on the wisdom of the course followed by the Atlanta Board of Education in exhausting all legal means of maintaining segregation, and thus avoiding the stigma of being "integrationists," (152)

seems to go beyond Dr. Dodson's position that school people do not make the decision to desegregate and to say they should not. Dr. Letson's point seems to be that only if the school board's actions do not engender community hostility in the decision-making phase, can it exert effective leadership in the next phase -- preparing for and carrying out the program. (153)

Experience in Chattanooga supports this viewpoint. Shortly after the Supreme Court's implementing decision of 1955, Dr. Carmichael told the conference that the Chattanooga school board issued a statement of compliance based upon respect for acceptance of the declared law of the land. Attempts of an interracial advisory committee appointed by the board to hold meetings were broken up by acts of violence. Aroused community antagonisms forced the board to alter its approach "in favor of a breathing spell" until suit was filed in April 1960, five years later. (158)

A policy of desegregation needs to be clearly and concisely stated and to be firmly rooted in the authority of the community, Dr. Dodson warned, if educators are to carry it out successfully. He cited attacks on the legitimacy of court decisions by segregationists both North and South as examples of the attacks on authority to be expected. (138)

The Dallas program, described below, was predicated upon the assumption that the power structure of the community had to win support for a peaceful transition after desegregation was ordered by the courts. Dr. Jeanne L. Noble, an associate of Dr. Dodson's who spoke for him in his absence, attributed the success in Dallas to the fact that "the power structure, the men who hold the power in the palms of their hands, actually initiated this social change" The community power structure can be more effective than educators or intellectuals who have to work from within, Dr. Noble said. (172)

The role of the professional educator, Dr. Dodson asserted, is to interpret educational matters to the power figures of the community. In this role he found educators deficient because of ambivalence as to what good education is. He mentioned three areas in which school men fail to

take a clear position: first, as to what the merit of a nonsegregated educational experience for all children, white and Negro, is; second, as to the weight that should be attached to this experience in relation to other matters which enter into the decision as to where children shall attend school; and third, as to the import that should be attributed to de facto segregated schools which tend to be older, to be staffed by teachers marginal to the system, and to have lower academic standards and morale. Dr. Dodson criticized educators for using grouping practices within school buildings that frustrate a policy goal of nonsegregation after adoption. The latter fault he attributed to the educators' insufficient knowledge of the skills of group leadership. (139)

Dr. Dodson's views of the weaknesses of educators in their role of interpreting to the power figures the intrinsic educational values of desegregation and the inherent inequality of de facto segregation were diametrically opposed to Dr. Fischer's opinion as to the proper position of an educator on these subjects. Since the discussion of these points as raised by Dr. Fischer is included in Part I, it will not be repeated here.

The three southerners on the panel described successful programs in their communities of preparation for an acceptance of court-ordered desegregation which thereby permitted a peaceful initiation of the approved desegregation plan. Mr. Sam Bloom of the Dallas Citizens Council, an organization not connected with the White Citizens Council but representing the outstanding business leaders of Dallas, emphasized the leadership responsibility of the power structure of the community and recounted the successful fulfillment of this role by the Dallas Citizens Council. Dr. Letson and Dr. Carmichael acknowledged similar support from business and civic leaders in their communities, but delineated in more detail other parts of their programs. The salient features of the three programs will be summarized under four topics: (1) the role of community leaders, (2) the role of officials, (3) the role of news media, and (4) preparation of school personnel, pupils and parents.

The Role of Community Leaders

The Dallas Citizens Council, an organization made up of 250 of the city's leading business firms, conceived and carried out a program to prepare the total population of Dallas for a peaceful desegregation of the city's schools. (141) Its basic objective was to create a climate in which officials could carry out their assigned tasks and individual citizens could behave responsibly without loss of status. (142) Mr. Bloom explained:

People are not really that bad in Little Rock or that good in Dallas. People are not so much segregationists as they are afraid of losing status or of being on the "wrong" side. Given the chance, most people will choose the decent way, most people will take responsibility for themselves and their neighbors. We found much less hate and bigotry than even the most optimistic of us believed existed. (142)

The council formed a special committee of seven members to develop a program. A like number of leaders from the Negro community offered their assistance. The committee decided that:

If Dallas was to avoid violence, Dallas leaders must exercise leadership.

They must help to establish a behavior pattern that could be followed by the community as a whole.

They must stand up and be counted for law and order. (143)

The council developed a program of public conditioning to establish the desired behavior pattern in the upper 10 to 15 percent of the community and influence the lower one-third. Plans were made to solicit the support of hundreds of fraternal, professional and civic organizations in Dallas, beginning with the most influential. The technique used was to show a documentary film and distribute literature at each meeting. Mr. Bloom described this as the controlled-audience technique whereby

people with open minds who were in a position to unlock doors were approached first. The minority of dissenters who might be present at such meetings were thus placed at a disadvantage. (144) In amplification of this thought Mr. Bloom said:

[A] film has certain advantages over a live speaker. With a film, content and emphasis of the message can be controlled. Also, because a film is inanimate, dissenters don't feel obliged to argue vocally with it. On the other hand, your proponent feels that nobody has yet spoken for his position as a human being. He wants to stand up and declare his position, and when he does, more and more proponents do likewise. (145)

The committee met first with three influential organizations which agreed to lend their names as sponsors: The Dallas Bar Association, the Dallas County Medical Society, and the Greater Dallas Council of Churches. The endorsement of the AFL-CIO Council, city and county law enforcement agencies and elected and appointed officials was also secured. (144) In response to a question Mr. Bloom made it clear that the committee did not begin with the support of elected city officials but gained their support. (171) He explained that gaining support whether of the power structure, the press, or officials was a "chore of overcoming interference, one man at a time." (181) "[T]hey just did not fall in place. We worked for them in Dallas." (182) The principal participants in the first meeting were visited many times in advance to prepare them for it. (181) "The press is going to report the news as it sees it ... a politician is going to pursue his own career." (181) "[A]ll of these people [the lawyer, the doctor, the theatre and hotel man] are confronted with problems" and have to be won over. (182)

The appeal made to the people of Dallas was directed to each citizen's individual responsibility to respect the law and keep the peace. In explaining this approach Mr. Bloom said: "We decided that our program must advocate neither segregation nor desegregation in the schools. It must reach beyond the personal pros and cons of the

immediate issue to something upon which all of us could agree" (143) To reach a broad cross section of the community, the material presented by film and pamphlet had to speak to several levels of society, Mr. Bloom explained. "We, therefore, built into it appeals to morality, to health, to patriotism, to civic pride, to practical interest, and we even included a threat of jail Thousands of posters were prepared to display in the dark spots of the city--cafes, beer parlors, etc.-- showing happy children with the legend 'Keep Dallas safe for them--avoid violence.'" (145) Payroll inserts were another means of communication with citizens. Tens of thousands were prepared and inserted with Dallasites' pay checks. (145)

A unique feature of the pre-desegregation campaign in Dallas was the decision that desegregation must be an adult experience before becoming a children's experience. The opening of the eating facilities of the department stores to Negro patrons was to be the starting place. Tests over a two-week period were originally planned but since the first test went off without incident, additional tests were abandoned. "Dallas stores were desegregated from that day." (146)

The role of the Negro members of the Dallas committee was not made entirely clear but apparently their role in the Negro community was similar to their white counterparts in the white community. Mr. A. Maceo Smith, a member of the Negro committee reported that:

We had to organize Negro leaders. We called a meeting of 125 Negro leaders and formed what we called the Negro power structure, which was a Dallas community committee. We met weekly, at 10 o'clock on Saturday morning, to reflect the views of our association, the progress of the same and to solicit leadership amongst the Negroes, leaders, and separately, in the planning, in their communities, and so forth, to avoid possible sitdown strikes and boycotts and what have you. (184)

They did not have an easy time. Mr. Smith said:

There was a great responsibility on the part of the seven Negroes on this committee to assume responsibility. During discussions and negotiations for desegregation in Dallas, the Negro members were called Uncle Toms by Negroes and Communists by white people. So, we had this responsibility to assume. (184)

The desegregation of the eating facilities in the Dallas department stores helped the Negro leaders with their own people. As Mr. Bloom put it:

In order for the moderate Negro leaders to retain their influence, they had to be able to carry some word of progress back to their people, and the stores were one of the areas experiencing direct pressure from the Negro community. (146)

In Atlanta community leadership arose differently. About a year after a class-action suit was filed in the Federal court but some months before its decision, a small group of white parents in Atlanta chartered HOPE (Help Our Public Education), an organization committed to one objective--open schools. The movement spread quickly to other large towns throughout the State.

The desegregation plan filed by the school board which was approved by the court in January 1960 was headed for an unavoidable collision with State laws requiring closure in event of desegregation. (149) The State legislature appointed a committee, known by the name of its chairman, an Atlanta banker, as the Sibley Commission, to assess public sentiment about closing schools. The hearings of the commission throughout the State showed strong sentiment for open schools, even at the cost of integration. (149-150)

A one-year delay granted by the court to give the legislature an opportunity to pass permissive legislation, also gave the proponents of open schools time to gain support. By the fall of 1960, Dr. Letson reported, their activity was widespread. "Their individuals and groups included important religious bodies, business leaders, lawyers groups, educators, and civic organizations.

Forums and discussions throughout the State permitted the possibility that integration was inevitable if schools were to remain open. Further, the conclusion most often reached was that schools must remain open come what may." (150)

After the 1961 Georgia legislative session when the laws were revised to permit schools to operate on a desegregated basis, "an organization called OASIS (Organizations Assisting Schools in September) was formed to create a climate of calm, dignified compliance with law." (151) This organization comprised of church, business, service and youth groups, sponsored hundreds of meetings in Atlanta to develop public opinion receptive to compliance with the law. (151)

At the time of the conference, the quiet, orderly first step in the desegregation of Chattanooga schools was still in the future. In response to a question, however, Dr. Carmichael said that the power structure of that city was performing in much the same way as in Dallas and Atlanta. He said: "We have a citizens' committee, and working in that committee is really the power structure of the city. It's going about that task and is performing much as it did in these two cities." (174-75)

The Role of Officials

Dr. Dodson's point that a policy of desegregation needs firm roots in the authority of the community if it is to be effected smoothly, was affirmed by Mr. Bloom. Mr. Bloom quoted the Dallas police chief as saying: "In Dallas we can go ahead and do our job because we know the community is behind us." (142) Mr. Bloom also stressed the fact that the press, the city's elected and appointed officials, the police, all have important functions to perform when schools are initially desegregated.

Dr. Letson paid tribute to the courageous leadership by many public officials and mentioned the "no-foolishness attitude on the part of the police department" as a vital part of Atlanta's successful transition. (148) Plans were so carefully laid that "the crank, the crackpot, the

lunatic fringe--homegrown and imported--didn't have a chance to be himself. For a few days at least he was a model citizen." (148-49) In summarizing the factors most effective in creating a climate of acceptance in the community, Dr. Letson included police support. He described the Atlanta chief of police as "hard boiled, practical, and incorruptible." (152)

Advanced planning in Chattanooga divided responsibility three ways: (1) law and order, (2) community preparation, and (3) teacher and student understanding and acceptance. The police department took charge of security and law enforcement. (160) City officials also took part in the leadership training conference for teachers. A 30-minute telecast by the superintendent of schools opened the conference. This was followed by brief statements of aggressive community support by the mayor, the county judge, the sheriff, the commissioner of fire and police, the attorney general, and the president of the chamber of commerce. (162)

The Role of News Media

Keeping the press fully informed of all developments, Mr. Bloom and Dr. Letson agreed, is crucial to the success of a program. (146, 153)

In Dallas, a minimum of publicity in the initial stages of the program to win community support was believed to be desirable. The local press was not asked to suppress the news but to redefine what is news from the standpoint of immediate and long-range community welfare. All news media cooperated wholeheartedly and showed the greatest discretion in what they printed. Desirable editorial support was strong when it was needed. Although the national news media broke the story of the program earlier than desired, support from the local press and television averted any resultant damage. (146)

Atlanta, on the other hand, took the opposite position with regard to full day-by-day recounting of developments by the press. Dr. Letson reported:

The other key point was that from the beginning there was completely open information. The press was given all of the facts from the very beginning. Citizenship throughout the community was kept completely informed of developments, in terms of the application of the pupil placement law, and in terms of other details relating to this problem. (153)

"The newspapers," Dr. Letson said, "were consistent and responsible in their exposition of the facts." (152) Furthermore, press reports of the evolving pattern of court decisions elsewhere in the South and their implications helped to prepare Atlantans for the inevitable outcome there. (152)

The handling of news developments in Atlanta on the first day of school was skillful and imaginative. All persons except students and teachers were barred from school premises and streets adjacent to school grounds. Special arrangements, however, were made to keep the press and other news media informed of all events and newsworthy developments. Dr. Letson described this successful public relations project, saying:

The council chambers at the City Hall were converted into a vast pressroom. Ticker tapes, a dozen television sets beamed at the four high schools, direct radio contact with these schools, and an open and amplified two-way telephone communications installation provided reporters with more complete and accurate coverage of news and developments than a ringside seat at any one of the schools. Periodically, principals of the four high schools were interviewed by way of the direct-line amplified intercommunication system. Representatives of the newsgathering agencies were cooperative and grateful. Their articles and news reports fully reflected their gratitude and were characterized by responsibility and fairness. (151-52)

Preparation of School Personnel, Pupils, and Parents

Advanced planning involving the community, school faculties and students is essential if desegregation is to move without many problems and serious opposition, in Dr. White's view. Preparation of teachers, principals, and students to accept and face the problems occurring in a desegregated school have great importance. (29) Dr. Carmichael described the various steps in such a program of preparation developed and carried out in Chattanooga during the two school years preceding desegregation.

In Chattanooga, school principals participated in discussions with the administrative staff in the development of a desegregation plan. The success of these meetings, which included both white and Negro principals, led the administration to proceed boldly with teacher preparation. (160)

The first major effort was an address by the superintendent to all school personnel in the spring of 1961 (a year and a half before actual desegregation). In this address, Dr. Carmichael stressed the imperative need for teachers to deal with the Court's decision in ways consistent with professional goals. He underscored teachers' obligations as employees of the board of education to conduct themselves in ways consistent with the board's policy of moving peacefully into a desegregated school system. (161)

Dr. Carmichael listed the following specific suggestions he made to the teachers as to their role in assuring a smooth transition:

- Counseling and influencing others;
- Controlling the tone of voice in discussing the subject;
- Securing facts and scotching rumors; and
- Keeping trouble and troublemakers away from the school. (161)

Following this general meeting, school personnel were kept informed about the status of the desegregation

suit in the Federal court and the school board's plans by regular reports to school principals. During the school year 1961-62, the superintendent and a member of his staff met with small groups of student leaders from the 15 junior and senior high schools to discuss the inevitability of desegregation, the two choices of reactions open to the community, and the influence the older students could exert on younger members of their families. (161)

In January 1962, a leadership training conference was held in preparation for systemwide sessions for all elementary and secondary school personnel that were held about two weeks later. All principals, 42 teachers selected to lead groups in the larger meetings, and central office personnel attended the leadership training conference. It was led by Dr. Harry Bard, Assistant Superintendent of Baltimore City Public Schools during its transition, and Dr. Morton Sobel, Director of the National Department of Colleges and Universities, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a recognized authority in human relations. Principals and teachers from neighboring desegregated school systems assisted as resource persons. The program included a dry run of the activities scheduled for the total teaching staff. Among these were discussions in small groups of problems identified by a systemwide problem census. These problems fell into the following categories: (1) social relations; (2) parental relations; (3) teaching-learning situations; (4) community relations; (5) teacher-pupil, pupil-pupil, and teacher-teacher relations; and (6) administrative problems. (161-62)

Administrative problems, Dr. Carmichael reported, included 135 specific questions teachers had raised, such as white parents' fears of diseases believed to be rampant among Negro children, and the desires and welfare of the majority of citizens as opposed to the minority. (162)

The systemwide conference, for which teacher-leaders were prepared by the leadership training conference described above, was made up of two one-day sessions which were identical--one for elementary and the other for secondary school personnel. The conference opened with a 30-minute telecast on desegregation by Dr. Carmichael

and brief statements of community support by city officials and the president of the Chamber of Commerce. This was followed by a classroom practices clinic led by Dr. John Brewbaker (Superintendent of Schools, Norfolk, Virginia, at the time of desegregation) who is a consultant with the Southern Regional Council, and by a human relations clinic led by Dr. Sobel. The conference then divided into groups of about 25 persons. Each group was composed of a teacher-leader, a teacher-recorder, a community representative, a principal, and teachers selected alphabetically from the roster of professional personnel. (162)

Planned programs in individual and area schools were the next step in preparing professional personnel for desegregation in the fall of 1962. Dr. Carmichael reported that these programs would be continued in 1962-63 and as long thereafter as seemed necessary. Principals submit reports on meetings held and plans for future meetings twice a month. A guide for the individual school meetings suggested:

A review of publications appropriate for easing the transition into desegregated schools.

A rumor clinic film.

Films showing sound educational practices for intergroup relations and presenting facts about different races and cultures.

Talks by community leaders committed to the American belief in individual dignity and worth. (163)

Dr. Carmichael's summary of sample reports submitted for the first month showed an extension of the program into classrooms. In one school, older children studied the Bill of Rights and Constitution to learn the importance of the freedoms and privileges of people in a democracy. The Golden Rule was used for younger children. A Chinese student spoke in a school assembly, providing teachers with the opportunity to follow up in their classrooms with a discussion of likenesses and

differences of various races in such things as customs, dress and speech. (164)

The Atlanta program, as outlined at the conference by Dr. Letson, was less elaborate. The school staff took responsibility for the preparation of students. A board of education policy statement approving the teaching of controversial issues permitted classroom discussion of impending desegregation throughout the school system. (153) In support of beginning desegregation at the upper high school level, Dr. Letson cited the possibility of the school's doing an effective job preparing older students. He said it is "a decided advantage if you are making a beginning ... with those who can reasonably consider, reasonably discuss and come to personal, individual decisions about their own actions." (122)

In Atlanta, school personnel who had attended a human relations workshop served as resource persons in the schools and contributed to a developing understanding of the problems on the part of the total school staff. (153)

Since Mr. Bloom represented the business leaders of Dallas, he understandably did not stress any preparation which may have taken place within the school system itself. He did mention, however, that the Dallas business leaders "kept stressing the parents' responsibility to set our children an example of good citizenship and to establish family values and personal standards in all private areas." (146)

In Atlanta, parents of school children were the leaders in the organizations banded together as "OASIS" that worked to create a climate of calm, dignified community compliance with the law. No specific programs in the schools, such as through PTA organizations, were mentioned by either Dr. Letson or Dr. Carmichael.

SUMMARY

Representatives from southern school districts emphasized the need for preparation of the community to

accept desegregation after it has been ordered by a Federal court. Plans outlined emphasized in varying degrees the need for active involvement of business leaders, city officials, news media, school personnel, pupils and parents. Each has a role to play if the first step from segregation to desegregation is to be orderly and peaceful.

APPENDIX 1

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APPENDIX 2

Educational Problems of Segregation in and Desegregation of Public Schools:

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Comments from the Northern Viewpoint:

Dr. Houston R. Jackson, Assistant Superintendent,
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Comments from the Southern Viewpoint:

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